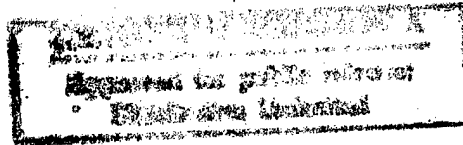


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JPRS 81369

26 July 1982

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2037

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26 July 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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REPORT ON DRAFT FAMILY CODE AT PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

AU292008 Tirana ATA in English 1800 GMT 29 Jun 82

["Report on the Draft Code of the Family of the PSR of Albania--delivered on behalf of the Council of Ministers by Comrade Manush Myftiu, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers at the session of the Peoples Assembly of the PSR of Albania"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 29 June [ATA] the radical transformations made in all the fields political, economic, cultural and social by our people, under the leadership of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, Comrade Manush Myftiu said among the others, have carried out a real revolution in the Albanian family too, they have brought about the creation of a new family, of the socialist family. Our family is completely liberated from the economic exploitation. It is in a sound moral-political state and has a growing educational and cultural level. Our new socialist family reflects all achievements of our society on the road of social and moral progress and at the same time. It constitutes the basis of the strength and stability of our society, a condition for the uninterrupted development of our socialist revolution. This is also the special reason why the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally have devoted constant care and attention to the problems of the emancipation of woman and the creation of a new family, have demanded and demand to work ideologically, politically, economically ally to temper uninterruptedly our new socialist family, to free it from everything alien and reactionary. The new draft-code of the family, worked out in compliance with the conditions of the present development and with the demands and principles of our constitution served the realization of this task.

The draft-code of the family, as every fundamental document of our life, was subjected to the judgment of the working masses. A broad popular discussion was promoted on its principles and dispositions.

The general and fundamental aim of the Drakt-code is to put our socialist family on as sound as possible basis, to protect and further strengthen it, in compliance with the norms of communist morale. To, guarantee the full application of equality between wife and husband, as well as among them and the other members of the family. At the same time, through its dispositions, fights against the alien manifestations in the family relations.

The reconfirmation of the constituent principle that "marriage and family are under the solicitude and protection of the state and society" is of decisive importance. There is no room in our socialist society for the bourgeois and false concept according to which marriage and family are merely personal problems, where the society cannot and must not interfere. On the contrary, with us the state and society are directly interested in creating and preserving a sound family. The direct interest of our state and society for the problems of family, never affects its intimate and delicate character, aims at hitting every action that weakens the family, to brush aside every obstacle that prevents it from performing its important functions. With regard to this problem, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses "the new socialist spirit must blow in the fold of our family.... This spirit is indispensable to eliminate the idea of private property, the idea that the problems of family are "merely private," to eliminate also everything idealistic in all the manifestations and views created in the fold of the family."

These lessons of Comrade Enver Hoxha are embodied in this draft-code of the family.

The constitutional principle of equality of women with men thoroughly pervades the draft-code. The woman, liberated from oppression and economic exploitation, enjoys equal rights with man. This principle is applied not only at work, pay, holidays, social insurances, education and culture, in all the political and social activity, but also in the family relations.

Our party, as a Marxist-Leninist party, has not restrained itself only with the proclamation and sanctioning by law of equality of woman with man but it has strived and strives every day to carry it into effect. All conditions and possibilities have been created in our country so that the Albanian women take an active part in mass in the production of material blessings, in running the economy and state, in the field of education and culture, in all the political and social life of the country. Our socialist society has paved the road to the woman so that she enjoys the freedom and equality everywhere in life: work, family.

Comrade Enver Hoxha stated once again at the eighth AWP congress that the party has continually and consistently struggled to implement its program for the full emancipation of the Albanian woman, which socialism cannot be understood and its construction cannot be furthered. To implement this program it is necessary that the party and its levers never interrupt their class ideological struggle, that they continue their work and struggle in society and in the family to uproot old concepts, customs and practices which, despite all the blows they have suffered, have not been completely wiped out and in some cases still occur intertwined with the degenerate influences of the corrupt bourgeois-revisionist world. The juridical norms contained in the draft family code also serve this aim. They actively serve full equality between women and men in family life.

The principle of equality of women with men (?found) in our society, is in open opposition with the inequality of woman with man in the capitalist bourgeois-revisionist countries. The bitter antagonism of the present bourgeois society cannot fail to be reflected in the bourgeois family too. Inequality

within family, the domination of man over woman, the worm of profit and private interest—all are deep wounds that shake and destroy the family. Divorces, prostitution, open and camouflaged violence towards woman which are assuming ever larger proportions, clearly show that the bourgeois-revisionist society neither is able to create a true family, nor to protect it. Even the legislation of family in these countries, based on the interests of the exploiting classes, inspired by religion and reactionary sociology, openly or hypocritically does nothing but preserves and keeps alive these grave wounds, which in essence destroy and liquidate the family.

The promises made frequently by the statesmen or the different parties in the bourgeois revisionist countries for equality of woman with man, are a fraud. The feminist movements and the initiatives of the kind in these countries are a mere illusion. As long as there exists the economic-social order, based on private ownership and on the exploitation of man by man, as long as the whole life in these countries is imbued with a reactionary ideology and is directed by such a reactionary policy, equality of woman with man cannot be attained, so the genuine family cannot be created. They can be attained only through destroying the bourgeois-revisionist order, only through transition onto the dictatorship of proletariat and the creation of the new socialist society.

Further on he said: An important place in the draft family code is held by the institution of marriage. Marriage as a legal basis for the creation of the family in our society is characterized by the principle of the person's free will in choosing his partner. Our Marxist-Leninist view of freedom and love has nothing in common with degeneration in marital relations and outside them. The serious attitude toward love demands that young people know each other well. Marriage in our country is based on the unity of ideopolitical and cultural views of the partners. Knowing each other before marriage is a necessary process to evaluate the moral qualities and virtues of the person one is marrying.

Our state of the dictatorship of the Proletariat has recognized and recognizes only the marriage contracted before the competent state organs. The cohabitation of persons not legally married enjoy no protection by law. They are typical for the bourgeois and revisionist society which treat the marriage as a civil contract that may be struck and cancelled at any time when the interests of the two sides do not comply any longer. The view of bourgeois ideologists for "free life without any family obligations" are alien to our society.

A special chapter treats the rights and duties of the husband and wife in the family life. Here also the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha have been taken into consideration that there cannot be a true socialist society and family, there cannot be an agreeable life in the family, without it being understood by everyone that relations between husband and wife must be characterized by equal rights and obligations and mutual respect, trust and love between them.

The draft code, led by the Marxist-Leninist view of marriage, also regulates divorce. Divorce, especially for women, has been evaluated as a very important victory which plays a positive role only when the woman correctly understands this victory and know how to use it. Life has shown that the Albanian woman is realizing this right and doing so only when there is no longer a possibility for continuation of the marriage.

Our party, state organs and social organizations carry out great ideopolitical, ideological education work so that social opinion will be raised against alien manifestations, against each spouse's immoderate and immature actions which cause the breaking up of the family and damage the interests of the children. Allowing divorce in socialist society does not at all deviate from the principle of protecting marriage and the family by the state and society. The socialist state is interested in protecting healthy marriages, those which in reality are live cells of society which fulfill their set mission.

Our legislation of the family does not know the dissolution of marriage only with the agreement of husband and wife. In this matter too, it differs from the legislations of the other countries. According to our legislation, it is not enough only the agreement of the husband and wife to dissolve the marriage, it is necessary that the court too create the conviction that the matrimonial relations have shaken seriously. The judgment of this situation is not left in the subjective estimation of husband and wife because such a freedom would open the road to liberalism and degeneration, but it is in the competence of the court, as the sole state organ which has the right to decide.

The constitutional principle that the mother and child should enjoy special care and protection is threaded throughout the draft code and especially the institutions which concern marriage, motherhood, fatherhood, adoption and parent-child relations. The protection of the interests of the mother and child is especially one of the major concerns of the judiciary when these matters are discussed. Precisely for this reason, the draft code indicates that the judge awards the upbringing and education of children to the parent who has the best political and moral conditions for the children's upbringing and education.

An important place is given to the regulation of parent-child relations. As Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized, our socialist family must give a decisive contribution to the revolutionary formation and education of the youth. It must be the first place where the youth are daily cultivated in a revolutionary way. These teachings by Comrade Enver have been fully reflected in the draft code, where it is stated that parents are responsible for the children's good upbringing and communist education with revolutionary feelings and high virtues so that they always serve the socialist homeland everywhere. At the same time, it is a duty for children to respect their parents and to care for them, especially when they are disabled and without the necessary living means. Inspired by socialist humanism, in a new provision, the personal relations between grandparents and grandchildren who are minors are also regulated. This is also done when the grandchildren's parents have died and are cared for by the other parent or other persons. The lack of such a provision has disturbed grandparents in caring for their grandchildren.

In contrast to the code in existence, the draft code outlines that the parent's duty to support children must continue for older children when attending secondary or higher school up to the age of 25 years. This change is dictated by the need to ensure further education to children, independent of whether or not the parents are divorced. This also complies with the state's stand that a family allowance is ensured for older children up to 25 years when they are receiving higher education. According to our family legislation, parent-child

relations may also be created by other persons' taking responsibility for the upbringing and education of one or more minors--which is adoption. The draft code gives a place to the constitutional principle that children left without parents or support must enjoy special protection. They are brought up and educated by the socialist state in being placed in state institutions or being given to a guardian. The deep democratic character of the draft family code is also expressed in the great procedural guarantees outlined in the code that every spouse, parent or child may demand their lawful rights and the protection of these rights from the judiciaries and other state organs.

The draft-code, contrary to the code in power, does not allow any longer the annulment of adoption even for legalized reasons, because through adoption the adopted children are equal with the children born by the parents themselves. Likewise, the draft-code, just as the code in power equalizes the children born out of marriage. No kind of discrimination is allowed towards these children. These children enjoy all the rights just as the other children towards their parents. The draft defines also the roads to prove the paternity of these children.

The draft-code reconfirms the constituent principle that the children bereaved of their parents and without support enjoy special protection. They are brought up and educated by the socialist state being accommodated in orphanages or by appointing a tutor.

All these juridical norms, Manush Myftiu said in conclusion, fully respond to the content and tasks of the draft-code for the creation, protection and further strengthening of the socialist family in compliance with the norms of communist morality.

CSO: 2020/50

RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS PERSIST, DISGUISED IN NEW FORMS

Tirana SHQIPTARJA E RE in Albanian No 4, Apr 82 pp 18-19

[Article by Naun Guxho: "Let Us Combat the Manifestations of the Old Ways in the Family"]

[Excerpts] The eighth party congress called attention to the fact that some outmoded customs and practices still appear in lifestyles, in family relations, in attitudes toward women, etc. These old phenomena, although they are minor, are a foreign element in the healthy body of our new family; they represent a serious obstacle on the road to its socialist development. Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking at the eighth party congress, said that the special characteristic of these remnants is the fact that they have been very persistent. The old elements do not give up their positions easily, especially in family life.

The old custom which prohibited relationships between young people of different faiths, despite the fact that it has received strong attacks, still appears today, both openly and secretly. Life shows that there are still cases of hesitation, and of pressure caused by old and conservative opinion in this area. The fact that the positive trend of marriages between young people of different former faiths is progressing with difficulty and not at a pace which is entirely possible is not just by chance. This is a good proof of the resistance of the old elements. Another thing which keeps parents from arranging for August weddings for their children is the fact that, according to the old unscientific and religious explanation, they will remain childless or will have only girls. This is a meaningful illustration of the fact that the old elements are hard to eradicate from the mentality of individuals.

It is true that boys and girls are getting to know each other better as we create the new family. Their friendship and love have become strong trends which are always being consolidated, more and more. However, there are cases of hasty acquaintances, acquaintance on the basis of recommendation, planned, formal meetings, and inspection from afar. We must stress that some people consider that this type of acquaintance is sufficient for marriage and for putting the family on sound socialist bases. In this situation, we are dealing with a simplistic understanding. These phenomena are attenuated manifestations of the old customs which trampled on the

dignity of the young man and woman in regard to a matter like marriage which is so important in their life.

Socialism has overthrown the practice of celebrating events with religious content or has rid many of them of the religious elements which had penetrated into them over the centuries. For example, the celebration of patron saints' days has been replaced by the celebration of birthdays. Of course, this is a good thing. But there is still some resistance from the old elements, under concealed forms. In many instances, the birthday is celebrated on the name day and not on the date on which the person was born. This is actually a disguised observance of the old under the name of the new.

The old attempts to resist by taking advantage of and hiding behind the good practices and tradition of the past and present. Indeed it is a good, humanitarian act to remember and commemorate beloved family members who have died. Under the leadership of the glorious party, socialism has built up this noble, age-old virtue of our people and raised it to the highest level; it has rid it of its mystical elements and has given it and is giving it a new revolutionary content. However, old phenomena appear here and there during the carrying out of this process. For example, the Christians used to have the custom of offering masses on the anniversaries of the death, such as the 6-month and year's anniversary. Now, in Korce and elsewhere, this custom has been replaced by the practice of giving cookies to people who visit on the anniversary dates. Thus, an old custom is clothed with a new form and the practice is spreading more and more. There is also the case of parents who want to name their children after their deceased parents, who had names of religious origin--often a prefix or suffix is added to "modernize" the name.

In order to overcome all types of resistance on the part of the old and to clear the way for the new, it is necessary to have a good knowledge of the forms and practices of its appearance in family relationships. Without such a knowledge it is not possible to combat and overcome manifestations of old phenomena, in general and, especially, those which pretend to be new. The knowledge of these negative phenomena must not be just a superficial knowledge if this work is to give results. It is not sufficient merely to know that the old is resisting. In the process of learning about its resistance, one must discover how it works and counteracts and where it operates directly, where it has milder forms and where it is disguised as the new.

A great role in this area is played by the mass organizations which, under the leadership of the party, should know how to organize their work with individuals, coordinating their efforts with each other. According to the specific nature of each one, studying, close hand, the manifestations in the village, the district, the work and production center, according to categories of workers, the organizations should find suitable work forms to combat the old customs in all the manners and forms in which they appear in family life or social life. Only by organizing a united front, only by

mobilizing the sound opinion of all our people can we combat these manifestations which, although they are rare, damage society and our healthy family.

A thorough differentiated knowledge of these manifestations will make the struggle against them thorough, complex and differentiated. This struggle can be carried out most easily with family members, so that the new norms and concepts will become acceptable to the consciousness of everyone, both in society as a whole and in the family in particular.

CSO: 2100/70

STB ATTEMPTS TO DISCREDIT EMIGRES

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 27, 5 Jul 82 pp 106, 108

[Article: "CSSR: Letter to Jirka"]

[Text] Through unusual methods, the Prague Secret Service attempts to silence emigres and domestic political opponents.

The dinner was ordered in an exclusive Roman restaurant, "Grand Hotel," on the Via Orlando Vittorio Emanuele; most of the invited guests, predominantly top Italian politicians, turned up because the invitation had aroused their curiosity.

Jiri Pelikan, the head of Czechoslovak Television during the Prague Spring, later an emigre politician in Rome, and for the past 3 years European Parliament delegate for the Italian Socialists, wanted--so it read in shaky Italian on hand-made paper--"to announce the end of his political career at a festive banquet."

However, the guests waited in vain, for one person did not show: the alleged host Pelikan, who knew nothing about the banquet. The invitations had been produced and distributed by the Czechoslovak Secret Service, "Statni Bezpecnost" (StB).

What appeared to be a student prank nevertheless had method: by using these types of measures for several months now, the Prague State Security Service has tried to arouse dispute and confusion among the Czechoslovak emigres and to discredit the political refugees in their host countries as being mad and unreliable.

Ultimately, according to the calculations of the Prague Secret Service, an opposition no longer taken seriously in the West could paralyze the activity of the Human Rights Movement "Charter 77" in the CSSR.

Even 5 years after the founding of their nonviolent movement, the Charter signatories, although imprisoned or convicted as "state enemies" and isolated from the rest of the people, still offer resistance to the regime of the Soviet puppet and party chief Gustav Husak.

Besides, gloomy forecasts set the deadline date for the concerted Secret Service actions. Over are the times, even in the CSSR, when the silence of the population could be bought with a higher availability of goods and a relatively sufficient standard of living. In the past year prices rose on the average by 30 percent and productivity declined by 13 percent, mostly attributable to totally outdated and inefficient machinery. The displeasure at the inadequate regime is especially growing among the industrial workers.

The Prague Secret Service's first victim 1 year ago was the old-time emigre, Pavel Tigrid. Tigrid, author and journalist, fled to Paris after the Red Coup in 1948 and, together with his wife Ivanka, started the successful emigre journal "Svedectvi" (Testimony), which also became the political voice for Eastern dissidents and a port of call for political refugees.

The Prague Secret Service installed a hidden microphone in Tigrid's editorial office and taped the conversations and discussions, probably from a base in a neighborhood apartment. An edited version of this output was broadcast on Prague Radio in December 1981 as an alleged documentary.

The venture was not very successful. Even by splicing the illegal tape recordings, the assertion that Tigrid was a CIA agent and in close contact, via clandestine messengers, with "Charter 77" in Prague could only be substantiated by commentaries and not by original texts.

The attempt to prove, with the help of fragments of conversation, that the leading emigres such as Tigrid, Pelikan, Jan Tesar in the United States and Zdenek Mlynar in Vienna were in utter disagreement on opposition strategy was largely a failure. The Prague Radio series ended when the French Ministry of External Relations protested sharply against the StB microphone pirates.

The Secret Service's idea to ridicule Zdenek Mlynar was almost exotic. The dissident, a former Central Committee secretary under Dubcek and the highest-ranking Eastern politician now in exile, emigrated to Austria 5 years ago after Husak authorities even took away his job as a laborer in the Prague National Museum.

The StB prepared a letter bearing the dissident's return address and the forged signature of his wife, Irena, and sent it to the CSSR emigre and Chess Grand Master Ludek Pachman. The letter accused Pachman of being envious of Mlynar's position as the "leading personality in exile." A quotation from the letter reads:

Do not doubt that tomorrow your hysterical cries will very soon be forgotten, whereas the views of Zdenek Mlynar will influence the further evolution of mankind toward socialism, no matter in what form.

The expectations of the Prague police that the easily agitated Pachman, who was the leader in the FRG of an obscure "Conservative Action," a strict anti-socialist, and a crony of the press king Axel Springer and the right-wing television commentator Gerhard Loewenthal, would publish the letter in the

rightist Western newspapers and thus play up the gossip were not fulfilled; the forgery was much too silly.

The CSSR Secret Service eliminated another Eastern emigre even with the help of the Austrian State Police. An anonymous letter sent to the guardians of the state in Vienna stated that Radomir Knappek, a former Prague citizen now living in Austria, had met with CSSR agents several times in the "Milan" boardinghouse in Zell am See.

The suspected Knappek, apolitical and known only because of his efforts to organize care package shipments to needy CSSR citizens, was questioned several times by the Austrian State Police. A chemical enterprise where he worked as an engineer fired him and took away his company housing. Unnerved, Knappek changed his exile and now lives in the FRG.

Viennese police have been responding with extreme sensitivity to matters concerning the CSSR ever since it became known last summer that Josef Hodic, a military historian and celebrated in Austria as a freedom fighter and first signatory of "Charter 77," was really a Prague Secret Service agent.

Hodic, who even found a position in the semiofficial Institute for International Politics with the help of Viennese authorities and who maintained close contact with Western emigres, was able to return undiscovered to Prague and deliver incriminating documents and partly forged letters against the whole "Charter 77" leadership to his mandators, the StB.

Nonetheless, even here the forgers botched substantially. For example, the salutation in an incriminating letter to Jiri Hajek, Charter signatory and ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, read "Dear Jirka." However, Hajek, imprisoned and since released, could prove to the State Prosecutor General that he was never called by that name.

A forgery was also an alleged appeal by "Charter 77" to the participants of the 10th CSSR Trade Union Congress in April. The letter called for a strike after the model of the Polish union, "Solidarity." The alleged signatories, among them the present Charter spokespersons Anna Marvanova and Ladislav Lis, had to be released from detention.

In the meantime, the StB has thought of a new way to intimidate Charter spokesman Lis. A blackmail letter signed by some "Revolutionary Action" demanded DM 35,000 from him; if he refused to pay, his two children would be kidnapped and killed.

At the same time the police made an offer to the unwelcome Lis and other human rights activists who were released from prison. Upon their release they were given valid emigration papers together with a threat that they should use them "before it is too late." To this the regime-critic Lis responded, "We are staying in the country."

KEMPNY'S SPEECH ON 37TH ANNIVERSARY OF CSSR LIBERATION

[Prague TVORBA in Czech No 18, 5 May 82 pp 3, 4, 5

[Article by Prof Eng Josef Kempny, Candidate for Doctor of Science, Member of CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Chairman of the Czech National Council: "A Permanent Turning-Point in our Lives: On the 37th Anniversary of the Liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army"]

[Text] In these May days we will already be celebrating the 37th anniversary of Victory Day over hitlerite fascism and the liberation of our country by the Soviet army. These famous May days of 1945 remain in our memory from generation to generation as a continually vital, permanent turning point, from which there came prospects for further development to our people as well. We will continue to turn to these historic days and to the development which followed them as to a source of instruction and of new strength for our continuing forward path. It is our ongoing task to attempt to bring this great period close to young people, to assist them in understanding it fully. It is our solemn responsibility to cultivate the respect of the young to those people who showed themselves capable of sacrificing everything for the freedom of our country and a better future for its people.

The defeat of fascist Germany and its allies also meant the victorious conclusion of a 6 year national-liberation, antifascist struggle by the Czechs and the Slovaks. A new epoch of our history began in which the working class, led by the CPCZ, consummated a national and democratic revolution with the active support of the vast majority of working people, resolved with final validity the question of "who is with whom" in the February days of 1948, and proved itself worthy in a decisive manner of building a socialist social order in our country.

Our people, and along with them all progressive people throughout the world, will never forget that it was above all the Soviet Union which, in the Great Patriotic War, defended not only its own freedom and independence, but at the same time saved European and world civilization from fascist tyranny and barbarism and opened, with its liberating mission, the path to a better future for many peoples.

The basic, and at this time especially relevant, lesson which came from the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War is that there are no forces in the world which are capable of destroying world progress and thwarting

the inexorable march of socialism. Today the socialist social order is a system which has become a reality in a number of countries of the world, and which has put down its roots in almost all continents of the world.

We are again reminding ourselves of these revolutionary realities in a year when we are already celebrating, along with the entire progressive world community, the 65th anniversary of one of the most important events in human history, The Great October Socialist Revolution. This event placed the administration of society in the hands of revolutionary forces led by the Bolshevik party, and made possible the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the 60th anniversary of which we are marking this year as, among other things, the most convincing victory of Leninist nationality policy.

Under the revolutionary influence of the victory of the Soviet Union, and thanks to the attractiveness of the continually vital ideals of Great October and the strength of Marxist-Leninist teachings, the relationship between world class forces has changed to the advantage of socialism and democracy. A world socialist system has been created as the main achievement of the world proletariat, the bastion of social progress and the defender of peace and the security of peoples.

For the CPCZ, 9 May 1945 is a confirmation of the correctness of the Leninist ideals which gave birth to the CPCZ and in the spirit of which it struggled against the bourgeoisie, fascism and the Nazi occupation. Czechoslovak communists have always found in the land of the Soviets lessons, a source of hope, strength and militance for their struggle. Bohumir Smeral, in the introduction to his 1920 book, "The Truth About Soviet Russia", writes "I am coming from another world, like another person. What is happening in Russia is immense, revolutionary, honorable, sensible, necessary, unconquerable." These words have been true not only in relation to questions of internal Soviet policy, but also extend to its consistent international policy in the interest of world peace and security.

The Czechoslovak people never came to terms with the loss of their national freedom and state independence, with the Nazi occupation. The finest sons and daughters of our peoples entered into the difficult struggle with fascism from the first days of Nazi rule, both at home and abroad. The Soviet Union at all times stood at the head of the world struggle against fascism. In the tragic days of Munich it was always by our side, providing all kinds of assistance to the struggle of our peoples.

The freedom of the Czech and Slovak peoples was born in struggle. Even in the most difficult moments our people never ceased to believe that freedom would come from the East, that it would bear the sign of the five pointed star with a hammer and sickle. In this battle, by the side of the heroic Soviet army and in the domestic struggle, blood sealed the friendship of the Czechoslovak and the Soviet people. Here was born Gottwald's slogan "with the Soviet Union forever! With the Soviet Union and never again any other way!" The Slovak national uprising and the May uprising of the Czech people were the pinnacles of the national liberation struggle of the Czechs and the Slovaks.

Our working people drew certain conclusions from the harsh life in the capitalist republic, from the betrayal by the national and world bourgeoisie, and from the terror of the occupation. They were resolved to embark on a new path which would guarantee that class oppression and national catastrophe would never again be repeated. Their own experiences had convinced them that the communists were the most important antifascist force and guarantee of its better future. The CPCZ stood at the head of the battle for national freedom and state independence. This struggle rested on an unflinching friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. At the same time it saw to it that, in the interest of the broad mass of people, the renewed Czechoslovak republic was built on new, popularly democratic, socially just principles and on the principle of equality for the fraternal Czech and Slovak peoples.

This line, and the consistent Marxist-Leninist policy of the CPCZ, directed at the fulfillment of CPCZ policy, met in the liberated country with the ever broader support of the masses, and as early as 1945 began to bring gradually concrete results. At the same time it became evident that domestic reactionary forces in conjunction with international imperialist circles would never voluntarily give up their positions. They utilized the unleashing of the cold war and attempted to resolve the struggle for class power in our country to their own advantage with a counterrevolutionary putsch. The February victory of the working people in 1948 resolved definitively that under the leadership of the CPCZ our working class and broad masses of workers would never permit a return to the conditions of the bourgeois republic, that they would embark on the new, progressive path of the building of socialism. The defeat of the reaction speeded up the implementation of the demands of the working class and other workers. Political power in the hands of the working class became the main instrument of socialist restructuring in our country.

In the 37 years which have passed from those memorable May days of 1945, the workers of our country have undertaken, under CPCZ leadership, a great task. Thanks to the socialization of the means of production, the industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture and the immense expansion of the economy, all resting on comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union, the position of the working person in society has changed from its very foundations, as well as his entire life style. The face of the country has changed, in the sense that today there no longer exist backward areas, where during the bourgeois republic there was hunger and poverty.

Our people, consistently led by a marxist-leninist party, has shown, as the conscious creator of its own fate, that it can implement in a short time basic social changes, for which a difficult battle had been waged for decades. It has achieved national freedom, state independence, political rights, social justice and certainty, a dignified life. The citizens of our socialist country participate in decisionmaking on public matters, primarily through the medium of their representative committees, and organizations of the National Front share on a mass scale in the administration and management of the state. Our socialist democracy and its further development constitutes an inexhaustible source of initiative and creative activity for the people. The socialist social order has proven itself capable of creating broad space for an unaccustomed flowering of education and cultural life for our peoples and nationalities. It is truly a grand success of the leninist nationality policy of the CPCZ that in the course of the life of a single generation there has been

success in overcoming historically rooted economic, cultural and social differences between Czechs and Slovaks and other nationalities; that backward, agrarian Slovakia has become the site of the construction of a modern socialist republic with a mighty industry and agricultural mass production. A high standard of living, social certainties, and the gradual realization of additional prospects in the stage of the building of a developed socialist society have shown what an immense force is represented by a people which is the master of its own country, if it has in its hands political power and if it is led by a marxist-leninist party.

The fundamental restructuring of our society, realized in such a short period of time, has been a very difficult task. In addition to the obstacles which naturally arise from completely new and numerous complicated tasks, there have been instances as well of subjective errors, a weakening of a class approach, an outpacing of development, inconsistency in the managing of society, and disruption of leninist norms of party work; these errors led in the sixties to a disruption of the alliance between the party and the masses.

The building of socialism in our country, our successes, but also our mistakes, confirm the validity of the general laws of socialist revolution which have been tested by the many years of practice of the Soviet Union. At the same time they confirm that any deviation and inconsistency in the application of marxist-leninist principles of social development inevitably opens the doors to the class enemy and threatens the very existence of socialism.

In Czechoslovakia as well, it has been demonstrated that anti-socialist forces and the international reaction are always prepared to exploit any of our weaknesses to achieve their objectives. In the second half of the sixties they undertook a concentrated attack on the revolutionary achievements of the people, on the very foundations of our socialist order. Thanks to the international assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, the conditions were created for the unification and activation of marxist-leninist forces, enabling the party to develop its own victorious struggle, with anti-socialist, rightist opportunist forces. The CPCZ renewed its unity on the principles of marxism-leninism and its leading role in society; this was the basic precondition for successful consolidation. At its Fourteenth Congress, the party outlined for our people program for the even more dynamic building of socialism, and we moved into the stage of the building of a developed socialist society. The seventies have been among our most successful years in terms of their results in the area of construction and the development of the standard of living and social certainties of the people.

The entire period of the building of our socialist society is linked to the unselfish assistance and comprehensive support which the Soviet Union has provided to Czechoslovakia. After the liberation, economic ties with the Soviet Union assumed critical importance both in the years of postwar economic reconstruction and especially in the subsequent period of building the material and technical base of a socialist economy. Soviet deliveries of raw materials made it possible for us more rapidly to develop industrial production and to assure the supplying of the Czechoslovak people. Czechoslovak industry discovered a new and important market for its products. Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union changed, after 1950, from merely negotiating the exchange of

products on a year to year basis to regular consultations concerning the long term prospects for economic cooperation. This activity has become an organic component of the preparation of 5 year plans for national economic development, which represent the basic instrument for the realization of CPCZ economic policy for the construction of socialism. Trade with the Soviet Union currently accounts for one-third of Czechoslovak foreign trade turnover. These mutually beneficial relationships, which continue to expand from year to year, assure the development of the Czechoslovak national economy, and guarantee the certainties and prospects for the Czechoslovak people.

The economic cooperation of the CEMA countries, led by its major force and most powerful country, the Soviet Union, is the foundation for a growing influence on the part of the world socialist system. The gradual increasing and balancing of the economic level of fraternal states strengthens the socialist community as a whole and makes possible the resolution of new and more demanding tasks. Socialist economic integration represents a higher level in the prospective development of the economies of the socialist community. It belongs to the basic conditions for the building of a developed socialist society, to the preconditions for the further social and cultural development of the socialist countries; it makes possible the development of the scientific and technical revolution and the intensification of social production as the main paths to an improvement of the material well-being of the people. On the basis of the Comprehensive Program for the Further Deepening and Improvement of Cooperation and Development of Integration Among CEMA Member Countries, long term target programs have been established, approved, and are gradually being implemented in the most important branches of material development of CEMA member countries.

An ever broader incorporation of the Czechoslovak economy into socialist economic integration is an objective necessity for us. All the important and scientifically and technically sophisticated production programs have been founded on an international base. The division of production programs has reached a considerable extent, and mutual deliveries of industrial products are being expanded. Machinery production, organized according to international agreements, has already reached a third of all production. The turnover of mutual deliveries between the CSSR and the CEMA member countries has risen from 4.3 billion rubles in 1970 to 13.2 billion rubles in 1980, i.e., more than three times.

Currently our entire society is striving to develop further the revolutionary process of socialist construction under much more complex internal and external conditions. In this we are resting on a firm foundation represented by the general line of the building of a developed socialist society. This line, which has been confirmed in practice, follows fully from the needs and the interests of our working people; it assures their ongoing political, material, social and spiritual development. For this reason we regard it as a reliable, unchanging foundation for the future as well.

The path of social progress constantly opens up new possibilities, while at the same time however placing new demands before us. Both of these must be recognized, utilized, and resolved. In this it is important not to lose sight of the final objective, to learn constantly from science and from practical experiences, to discover new, more effective forms of work and to forge ahead with an unbreakable faith.

The Sixteenth CPCZ Congress objectively evaluated the results which we achieved in the past 5 year plan. In spite of more difficult conditions, we pushed ahead in all of the basic sectors of social life. Everything which we created through our work returns to the Czechoslovak people in the form of a comprehensive concern for the person. The results of our economic and social policy stand out all the more because we achieved them in a situation when in the capitalist countries a general crisis has been deepening, with increasing unemployment and inflation and, along with this, the existential uncertainty of the workers. The ruling circles of the capitalist world are losing the trust of their citizens, and have more than once resorted to violence against their own people and to aggression against other peoples.

The Sixteenth Party Congress set demanding tasks on the basis of thorough analyses, with which we must come to terms so that we can successfully continue with the building of a developed socialist society. It emphasized the logical need for a turnaround in our economic life to intensive development. Behind this interest there is nothing other than a simple requirement; to achieve in all areas of our activity the greatest possible socially necessary performance from every hour worked, from every kilogram of material, from every koruna of new investment. We are concerned with resource formation, with growth in the national income which will make possible not only the smooth development of the economy and of all aspects of social life, but which will also be evident with this as a foundation in the assurance of the living standards of our people. We can develop our society only in conjunction with resource formation.

We must utilize in a far better manner everything which we have created by past work, more efficiently implement scientific and technical progress and a more efficient production structure, and see to the more profound incorporation of our country into international scientific-technical and economic cooperation, especially with the Soviet Union. We must increase substantially the quality of management, develop further and fully utilize worker initiative. The economic situation leads us to emphasize the idea that everyone be the meticulous master of his own workplace, and at the same time that he see ahead to where progress in science, technology and culture is leading. It is essential to purge from our work with still greater decisiveness all shortcomings, and to set ourselves against everything that weakens us, that is, also against such phenomena as bureaucratism, indifference, lack of discipline, and other problems.

At the Sixteenth Party Congress, Comrade Gustav Husak expressed an important thought, "The realization of scientific-technical development is a truly revolutionary task of our entire society." Turning the attention of all workers to the speeding up of scientific and technical progress is today a key issue in socialist construction. It is also necessary to improve comprehensively our work and to manage better because we must overcome the consequences of the much more difficult accessibility and often even the outright lack of the basic resources for economic growth. We are assuring with increasing difficulty and through significant efforts coal, crude oil, natural gas, ore, but also even the foodstuffs necessary for feeding our people. We must base our actions on these factors as the objective conditions of the current and future development of the national economy.

We have clear prospects, we have a program the main objective of which is the well-being of the person. The fundamental and most important precondition for the achievement of everything for which we are striving in the struggle for the further development of our country and for a satisfying life for our people is the maintenance of world peace. To fulfill this requirement, therefore, we must do everything that is in our power in all areas of the life of our country. The battle for peace, for human happiness, for the strength and further flowering of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and its economy--all of these pressing issues of the time which were emphasized by the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress, must be permanently in the forefront of our attention, in the forefront of our working efforts, of political and social activity. As Comrade L I Breznev has remarked, there is no more important issue today than the struggle for peace.

In the contemporary world, in which the dynamic of social, economic and political processes is speeding up, the influence of socialism on world development is ever stronger. Today the socialist community, in view of the continuing growth of its economic strength, and because of its humanist ideals and international relations based on mutually beneficial cooperation, is the main political, social and ideological factor in all progressive countries in the world. It is a mighty, attractive force, which together with progressive people of all countries is defending world peace and serving as a reliable ally for peoples struggling for national liberation.

Socialism has been from its very beginning inseparably linked with peace. When V. I. Lenin described the aggressive basis of imperialism, he emphasized that the capitalist order gives rise to wars, that wars are a direct extension of a policy founded on the application of force in relation to other countries and peoples. In comparison with this imperialist policy, socialism established a completely different foreign policy from its very beginnings in the October Revolution. This policy, which as a matter of principle defends peace and the right of peoples to freedom and self-determination, was expressed in the first legal act of Soviet power--in the Peace Decree. The Soviet Union has been, and will always remain faithful to the above mentioned fundamentally peaceful policy, defending the freedom of peoples from oppression by reactionary imperialist forces.

It is primarily to the credit of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system that since the May days of 1945 all danger of war catastrophe have been successfully averted. The current worsening of the international situation which has been brought on by the aggressive forces of imperialism led by the representatives of the military industrial complex of the USA is somewhat more dangerous. The objective of the policy of the government of the USA is to change the relationship of forces between socialism and capitalism, to stop progressive development in the developing world, to increase armaments, to achieve the military predominance of the United States and to renew the hegemony of the USA in the world. The government of the United States has launched a crusade against the national liberation movement and against the progressive countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is fomenting military provocation, and preparing and supporting counterrevolutionary, subversive elements with the objective of overthrowing legitimate governments.

Imperialism is fully aware of the kind of force which rests in the political and ideological unity of the socialist countries, in their joint foreign policy activities and overall political cooperation. For this reason it is trying with all its might to disrupt the unity of the socialist countries. It is applying a differentiated approach to them, attempting to develop political pressure on them, even by means of the disruption of economic relations. In this regard, the importance increases substantially of the consistent application of proletarian internationalism in the policies of the communist parties of the socialist countries.

The entire progressive world is becoming aware to an ever greater extent of the meaning of the principled, peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, of its willingness and strength to defend and shield peace. It is therefore also our task to contribute to the realization of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. As Comrade Gustav Husak stated at the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress, "We will attempt to realize all peaceful initiatives jointly developed and introduced by the socialist countries, which are demonstrating to the whole world that socialist is the decisive force in the struggle of peoples for peace and international security."

Likewise, our efforts to implement consistently and creatively the conclusions of the Sixteenth CPCZ Congress must correspond to these objectives; it is a matter of winning over all citizens of our country to taking initiatives to fulfill them. On the occasion of the anniversary of the liberation of our country by the famous Soviet army, we are aware with a new urgency of the complexity of the internal, and especially of the international conditions of contemporary life. The more consistently then must we approach our responsibilities; it is a matter of honor for each of us to apply all of his creative abilities in the interest of the development of society. With these efforts we will fulfill the legacy of those heroes who, 37 years ago, fought through to our national freedom and opened the path to our socialist present.

9276

CSO: 2400/301

UNNAMED INTERNEE IN GOLDAP WOMEN'S CAMP TELLS OF CONDITIONS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 6 Jul 82 p 9

[Interview with unnamed inmate of Goldap Women's Camp; interviewer and date not given]

[Text] "Life in internment consists of waiting. We wait for visits from outside, letters from our families, a possible leave--or perhaps release. Or for the next reprisals by the camp commander." A Polish woman tells of daily life in the Goldap internment camp, a high-security building in a wooded area in northeast Poland. The Goldap camp lies 3 kilometers from the town of the same name and only 500 meters from the Soviet border. Since January, a short time after the big wave of internments on 13 December 1981, over 300 female Solidarity activists and members of various opposition groups were sent to the isolated building in the woods. In the meantime, some of them have been released, others were sent away suddenly to stand trial and new inmates have arrived. In June, there were around 150 left and 40 of them have been in Goldap all along, among them the most famous woman from the Gdansk strikers, crane operator Anna Walentynowicz. Another prisoner whose name became known around the world during the Gdansk strike is nurse Alina Pienkowska and another is journalist Janina Jankowska, who won an Italian press prize for her reporting of the strikes.

[Internee] Goldap is regarded as a "model prison." It is a modern building, the woman said in her statement. It used to be a vacation home for those employed by radio and TV. During the war, the chief of the German Air Force, Hermann Goering, had his headquarters there and it is said that the vacation home was built on the foundation of the German structure. That has prompted many remarks on the irony of its history.

The house has two stories and two large terraces. There are no fences, but there is little chance for escape even so. The only place where we can go outside is on the two terraces.

Because we can only walk on hard surfaces, many of the women have developed painful joints after a while. The guards say they cannot let us go farther away because the area is not fenced in. We asked if we could take walks in the woods under guard, but the request was denied.

In addition to the guards, who are shifted every month, the camp personnel consists of female prison workers and people from the security police, the OB. The commander is an OB officer.

The strictly material conditions in the camp are good. We live four to a room and each room has a bath.

The food is relatively good and we also receive packages from the church and the International Red Cross.

Sick women receive medical treatment from a doctor, but the security police cause problems when someone has to be sent to a specialist or to a hospital. There is a medical office in the camp with a permanent staff of nurses and a doctor comes in from the town of Goldap. We used to have two doctors, a man and a woman. But they had so many conflicts with the police that they were finally removed. The woman doctor in particular would not accept it when the OB refused to allow patients to be sent to a hospital. The most drastic case we experienced was when one of the internees, a well-known sociologist, could not go to the hospital despite the fact that she had a brain tumor.

The camp leadership did not give in before a hunger strike was started and the church and the International Red Cross intervened. Incidentally, the Red Cross from Geneva has visited the camp two or three times.

(The woman seemed very nervous and bore obvious signs of the effects of internment.)

[Question] What is the mental condition of the internees?

[Answer] The constant waiting and uncertainty get on your nerves, of course. It is depressing to have no private life, one is never alone. There is a danger that the rooms are bugged, although we are not sure. The prison officials are polite, but we suspect that they listen at the doors. Therefore, we practice self-censorship when we talk.

Many are also worried about their families. There are 27 women who have children at home. They talk about them often.

But in spite of all that, the mental status is good, though this goes in waves. It depends on releases, new transports, trials we hear about or periods of stress when we are threatened with reprisals.

The mood was high when we heard about the big demonstrations in May, but it sank when the court trials came. Before 1 May, 52 of the women were

released. After the demonstrations, 62 new women were interned here, among them several students. The mood is at its lowest before the big holidays, for example before Easter this year, when homesickness became acute.

[Question] How often do you get visitors?

[Answer] Once a month, for 1 hour. Theoretically, only the closest family members can visit us. But sometimes other relatives get permission. It depends on the commander. In special cases we can be visited by friends from work. Up to 4 people can come at the same time.

On visiting days we sit in front of the big windows facing the entrance and wait in great anticipation to see who will come.

During visits we sit in the canteen while the guards make sure that "forbidden things" are not given to us during the conversation and that we don't try to smuggle anything out. Sometimes they sit down at the table to hear what is being said. It is forbidden to speak in foreign languages. An hour is much too short a time, but the visit can be longer only if the internee has made a written request in advance. Many do not apply for permission at all, because they do not know which conditions the OB might impose.

[Question] There are also punishments?

[Answer] We call them reprisals. When new groups are brought in for internment or groups go out, we usually sing political songs composed in the camp. Then visiting privileges are abolished. There are also other reprisals, according to regulations. First one receives a warning, then correspondence is halted for a while and finally, visits are banned. Once outside packages were confiscated. The fact that we cannot write or receive letters is not very significant anyway. Correspondence is limited in any case. Theoretically we can send as many letters as we want to, but in reality only half of them get out. The censorship seems quite arbitrary. Sometimes quite harmless information is cut out, while it can happen that "dangerous things" slip through.

There are also interrogations, but now they are called talks, the woman continued. Each OB officer in the camp is responsible for a group of internees who are divided up geographically according to their home residence. Interrogations are sporadic--some women have been called in several times, others not at all. Various methods of interrogation are used. Sometimes the OB officer tries to scare the internee with the threat of a trial or the loss of her job. Other times he behaves more like a kind uncle and says he wants to help. Often he suggests that the internee should cooperate with the police.

At the beginning they tried to get us to sign a political loyalty statement. Now they have stopped that. As far as I remember, only two women signed in order to get out.

[Question] Sometimes you are released on leave, aren't you?

[Answer] In the beginning this happened very seldom. One was allowed to go home for special family events, like a wedding or a funeral. Now it happens more often and for no particular reason. Most who were allowed to travel had not even asked to do so. One is allowed between 4 and 20 days and two people went home for an unlimited length of time.

But one feels uncertain about being given leave. Most ask themselves why they are being allowed to go and are afraid the police are following them to find out what contacts they make.

All who are out on leave must report to the police in their hometown. One who came back said they tried to get her to reveal her contacts. If she complied, she could stay home. I think leaves are used to soften us up mentally. We experience what it is like to be home and may be willing to cooperate in order to avoid returning to Goldap.

[Question] Have you had an offer on emigration?

[Answer] I do not know if anyone has been made a concrete offer. We learned of this possibility via TV, we are allowed to watch television, but we cannot have radios. One can obtain exit forms at the camp. I know that two internees have applied. But in general we regard it as a private matter for each individual.

[Question] What do you do with your time?

[Answer] We have set up various courses, in languages for example, and we have arranged for poetry readings in the evenings. Some things are permitted, others are not. But it is not forbidden to meet in our rooms. Some of the women are continuing their studies. There is also a small camp library and we are now allowed to receive books from home. Every Sunday there is a Catholic mass, conducted by a priest from the town of Goldap.

We are a very mixed group, the woman said. Most are Solidarity activists. There are two members of the Solidarity presidium and others have belonged to the national council. One of the internees was a delegate to the communist party congress last July. There are also members of KOR [Committee for the Defense of the Worker] (a dissident group under the leadership of Jacek Kuron) and of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), whose leaders are on trial.

The educational level is also quite varied--from working-class women to a dean of the history faculty in Krakow and a professor of philosophy. One-third of the internees come from Wroclaw, which we call the "extremist

capital." But we help each other out. When new transports come in, we collect food and clothing. When a woman was refused permission to go home for her son's funeral, we threatened a hunger strike. The next day she was allowed to go.

[Question] Have the interned women chosen their own leader, Anna Walentynowicz, for instance?

[Answer] No, we have no "official" leader. But women with authority and inner strength stand out, we do not have to choose them.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Anna Walentynowicz (right), one of the main figures behind the strikes at the Gdansk shipyard in August 1980, in her room in the Goldap camp together with another interned woman. She is one of the 40 women who have been at the camp during the entire state of emergency. She has written "Internee" across her chest.
2. Time passes slowly at Goldap and from this window one can also see when longed-for visitors are coming.
3. A last expression of solidarity. An internee is being taken to trial and is already sitting in the militia truck that will carry her away. Another has come out to give her final encouragement and is having a discussion here with the guards.
4. Internees have begun a hunger strike and to demonstrate this to the camp leadership, all the food packages have been placed outside their doors. The women stopped eating on 13 May of this year to show solidarity with the male internees who went on a hunger strike at the Bialoleka camp. The plan was that most of them were on strike for 3 days and the 6 strongest were to continue for the rest of the week. After 5 days, the women heeded the urgent appeals from the priest in the town of Goldap and called off the strike.

6578

CSO: 3108/130

AUTHOR TADEUSZ KONWICKI: STILL OPTIMISTIC ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 5 Jul 82 p 6

[Article by Stein Savik]

[Text] Tadeusz Konwicki, the author of "The Small Apocalypse," the bitter, satirical novel about the "Poland of the future," is an optimist in the midst of the state of emergency. "Sometimes western journalists want to have an interview with me," he said. "I answer, 'If you are looking for a [word illegible] story about the Polish intellectuals, I am not the right man.'"

"The Small Apocalypse," which was published in Norway over a year ago, is a declaration of hope, despite the fact that it ends with the self-immolation of the main character. Konwicki also seems to get his hope from tragedy today as well.

"It is not important that the Polish authors' union has been suspended during the state of emergency," he said. "The authors keep on writing. The important thing is that there is underground publishing taking place again, although so far on a very small scale. Here one can build on experiences from before the Solidarity period, and think of all the books that were published underground then. It was in that way that Poles got to read Czeslaw Milosz even before he received the Nobel prize. At that time, a firm foundation was established for good literature, despite the bans."

The 56-year-old Konwicki has had books published officially in the past, but his previous novel was issued underground and "The Small Apocalypse" was first published in the West, more precisely in Norway. He is also a well-known film director. During the state of emergency, Konwicki put the finishing touches on the film version of the Milosz novel, "Winter Valley," and he thought the film would be shown in Poland. "Winter Valley" is a semi-autobiographical book about the author's childhood in Lithuania.

"The state of emergency does not prevent us from writing," said Konwicki during a conversation in his apartment in Warszawa. "What happened after August 1980 was that suddenly people could read about everything. It was like sitting down at a table covered with food after having been on a terrible diet. Historic truths were rediscovered and taboos were broken. The

human organism needs these vitamins; it cannot be returned to the same old diet. I think there are many people now who are sitting out there and writing, not just authors. We have a public and a market."

Does he think this period might produce a big Polish novel?

"I do not know what a big novel is," he replied. "But I think a good work will emerge which will be read all around the world. Good things will be created in several areas. In the 16 months that went by before the military intervention, we had many writing debuts and several of them were excellent."

Konwicki did not think the authorities would ban the authors' union as they did the old journalists' union. "That would be a poor step and I do not think the government dares to alienate all our contemporary writers in that way. Of course that is just what I believe, I am not sure. There are some very tough forces in the party. But as I said, we can write without having a union."

As a film director, does he believe that Poland could now have the same experience as Czechoslovakia had in 1968, when a top-quality film industry suffered a severe setback because prominent artists refused to cooperate with the regime?

"No, I do not believe the same thing will happen here; let me say that it was quite surprising to see that almost all the young directors in Poland signed the first intellectual protest against the state of emergency and the internments. That means a lot, because the film industry depends on state support and has been used in the past to manipulate the people."

"With regard to the future, it is important to know that we are capable of resistance and able to find our own ways of getting around things. It is possible that some will emigrate, but most will remain here and get along under the conditions we have in Poland, whatever they are."

PHOTO CAPTION

1. Tadeusz Konwicki

6578

CSO: 3108/130

H. MIKOLAJSKA DESCRIBES WOMEN'S PRISON CONDITIONS

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 5 Jul 82 p 8

[Text] "If at some time in the future someone describes the methods with which they have tried to extract declarations of loyalty in the Polish internment camps, it will be an enormous book on psychological and even physical terror--of human degradation--of extortion with the help of children, parents, jobs, illness, trials. In short--a constant hydraulic pressure exerted on the minds and hearts of internees."

That is how Polish actress Halina Mikolajska described the situation in the internment camps the military government started using on 13 December 1981. Up to 10,000 Solidarity supporters have been detained in such camps. She herself was arrested as a member of KOR, the Committee for the Defense of the Workers, and as a Solidarity activist.

Halina Mikolajska got out of prison at the end of April, but the letter was written while she was still in an internment camp, the Goldap camp. This is regarded in Poland as something of a model camp. But the mental terror to which internees are exposed is classic in form. This is strongly evident from Halina Mikolajska's account.

Would Not Sign

"From the first day, pressure has been applied on us to sign loyalty declarations, to pledge obedience to the 'new laws.' The absurdity of such statements scarcely needs any comment. There are situations in which the concept of loyalty does not apply at all, in which it is totally unsuitable--loyalty to lawlessness is a 'pact with the devil,'" wrote Halina, who went on:

"There were among us many who had already made too many sacrifices in the name of justice, who had already sacrificed too much to even consider signing."

And she told about the elderly teacher from Stettin whose son was gravely ill and suffered a fatal attack when he saw his mother being arrested. A few weeks later, she learned at the camp that her son was dead. As a

condition for attending her son's funeral, they demanded that she sign a declaration of loyalty.

"Mrs Helena G. refused to sign," the letter notes simply.

Terrible Transport Experience

Halina Mikolajska also told of a terrible experience during the transport to the camp.

"During transport from the prison in Poznan to Goldap in Black Marias (vehicles or rather boxes without windows which should not even be used to transport cattle if the animals are to arrive at the slaughterhouse unharmed), one of the cars had an accident. Between 10 and 20 women were pulled out of the box through a ventilation opening in the roof. Nearly all of them suffered concussions. Later they threw up and fainted, after they were stuffed into another Black Maria which was already packed with people. However, two of them were so seriously injured that it was necessary to take them to a prison hospital along the route. Later they were brought to the camp several times at roughly weekly intervals, but though the weeks went by, the symptoms of serious brain concussion (visual disturbances, urination problems, nausea) did not go away. Therefore they were taken back to the same hospital. And it went back and forth that way. Each of the repeated doctor's examinations showed that they needed neurosurgical treatment, which the hospital in Goldap could not provide.

"We tried to tell people who were 'free' about this and finally we told the International Red Cross. A Red Cross doctor said it was necessary for the two women to be admitted to a neurosurgical ward and he was promised that this would be done. When he had gone, the internees were given loyalty statements to sign. They refused."

Halina Mikolajska said of her own refusal to sign a loyalty declaration: "I had no temptation at all after having been active. I would just like to die with a relatively clear conscience."

And she added: "I am sitting here together with some girls who have signed loyalty declarations. By and large they are destroyed and desperate people."

Reasons for Resistance

The Solidarity Support Committee has decided to issue a news letter, POLEN-NYT, twice a month. It will contain information on the situation in Poland and translations of texts that are smuggled out of Poland or written by Poles living in the West.

The hope is that the bulletin will serve as a basis for better understanding of Poland's problems, Solidarity Support wrote in the first issue of POLEN-NYT.

In addition to the letter from Halina Mikolajska, it contains this statement from the Polish Solidarity's underground movement on why it is necessary to resist.

1. To maintain the belief in hope which we have lived with since 1980.
2. To preserve one's dignity.
3. So that the suffering and loss of life on the part of our brothers shall not have been in vain and will never be forgotten.
4. In order to speak the truth at last.
5. So that lies and fear do not creep into our minds and hearts.
6. So that our children do not become ashamed of us and to give them a chance to grow up as free, reasonable and brave people.
7. So we can stop fearing each other and to prevent solidarity in our country from being broken down.
8. To show the world that terror and coercion have never solved political, social and economic problems.
9. To show other oppressed nations that love of freedom is stronger than any form of terror and coercion.

6578

CSO: 3106/140

EDUCATION AND UPBRINGING UNDERSECRETARY HRUSZCZA INTERVIEWED

Warsaw ZA WOLNOSC I LUD in Polish No 7, 8 May 82 pp 14, 15

[Interview with the Undersecretary of State for Education and Upbringing, chairman of the Committee for Cooperation with Youth, Main Board of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBoWiD], Major General Zygmunt Hruszcza by Ryszard Marciniak; Date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Many examples have been brought to light during the past months that point to inadequacies in the civic, patriotic and historical education of youth. Some youth have become easy prey to hostile anti-Polish and antisocialist propaganda. How much blame can be placed on the schools for this situation?

[Answer] It is incorrect to evaluate the situation among youth in isolation from the situation existing in the entire country. For whatever happens in the world of adults has a direct influence on the attitudes of young people. These days, when trying to come up with evaluations of youth, we most often ascribe all evil to the schools. Such conceptualization is a reason for cardinal errors in our thinking. In my personal estimation, many factors influence the attitudes, interests, intellectual and cultural development and political awareness of the young. Family influence should be placed first among these factors. I maintain that the foundations of a young person's upbringing stem from the habits he acquires at home and from the world-view inculcated by parents. Those foundations are also shaped by the youth's environment during his free time and by his peers. The mass-media also exert a great influence upon him; including in these terms more than just the official, government-controlled mass media. That is why I consider it more incorrect to ascribe the responsibility for the upbringing of youth solely to the school. However, there exists here a certain reservation. Since in our country 5 million women work outside of the home and, therefore, do not have enough time to devote fully to child-rearing, the school must help them do it. The school must accept increased tasks and responsibilities.

[Question] Don't your views excessively minimize the upbringing functions which are to be fulfilled by the school system?

[Answer] We have for many years been referring to the "broad socialist front of upbringing". However, we've always placed the burden and responsibility for it only on the school. In the past, nobody took care that the family would

also in reality inculcate socialist upbringing. Many organizations and committees of different character came into existence even as far back as 1945. Yet, the Council for Family Matters was created only a few years ago. The results we desire cannot be achieved without a common "front"; that is, without harmonious cooperation between family, school, and other institutions and social organizations.

Such lack of cooperation became particularly evident especially during the last months. Often young people encountered, for instance, different interpretations of the same facts by the schools and by the families at home. This is the source of confusion existing in the heads of the young and their easy subjection to the unpatriotic and antisocialist propaganda.

[Question] What is, then, the source of our errors? Why are we speaking today about the "disaffected" generation? Is it that the new generation turns its back upon the socialism and the basic truths that define the *raison d'être* of the Polish state?

[Answer] We have not reached the consciousness of youth with the many correct and simple truths which have found confirmation in the cause of history and which resulted from our national experience. We have not taught the young our history. Let's look, for example, at our relations with the Soviet Union. Our political adversaries have unscrupulously used to their advantage the fact that our youth has not been properly informed about some of the facts. Using the fabric of history to spread anti-Soviet sentiments, problems such as the "17th of September 1939", Katyn, the fate of the Poles in Siberia and help for the Warsaw Uprising were dragged out. Most surely we continued to be wrong to have not discussed these topics with youth in schools and to have not shed light or provide commentaries on these problems. Today, we have to convince youth of certain matters. In the first place, we should persuade them that we would not have the country in the shape it is in today, had it not been for the victory of the great alliance, in which the Soviet Union was the leading force, and had it not been for Polish soldiers participating in the struggle against Hitlerism. Perhaps our Motherland would still begin at the Bug [River], but it is not known whether it would end at the Odra [River].

Secondly, one cannot forget who has helped us to restore the damages of war. I myself remember that Warsawians received the first spoonfuls of hot-cooked food from the hands of Soviet soldiers. Plumbing, lighting, telephones, communication, railroad cars of flour and grain--all this we owe to the USSR during the first postwar years.

The third fact to remind youth is that the USSR brings us the most effective economic aid today. You must, at the same time, remember that they, too, have their own definite economic problems.

The fourth fact that not everyone wants to understand is that our cooperation in CEMA and the tremendous purchasing-power of the Soviet market-place opens huge, though not fully realised, possibilities for our industry.

Our young generation ought to be convinced about these facts. The school keeps on trying to do so; but, if it is ineffective, it is because it stands alone, separate from the family, from the environment and it is not properly supported in its efforts by the mass media.

[Question] Do you think that in the light of political diversity in our country the teacher cadre shows the correct attitudes and is appropriately prepared for the ideological and upbringing tasks which it is charged to fulfill in the schools?

[Answer] Our cadres are very numerous. They consist of about 400,000 teachers and 200,000 school administrators. Their educational level has risen within recent years. We have now over 50 percent of teachers who have received higher education. They are in the process of completing their education and of increasing their qualifications. As far as where the teachers' sympathies lie, 60 percent of them remain in the Polish Teachers' Union, the rest were members of "Solidarity". However, there were not many, so called, extremists who are radically opposed to the socialist reality. If there are nowadays divisions between the teachers, they find expression only in the fact that teachers' lounges here and there became silent, and that silence prevails at Pedagogical Council meetings. Such was the definition of this situation by the principal of one of the schools. Some do not say what they think. That is bad, of course, but we estimate that the situation in general is good. General work discipline has improved, classes are going as planned. We are carefully monitoring this situation. Old problems, however, remain and they make teacher's work difficult. There are shortages of textbooks, of literary books, of so-called method-editions for teachers only, and of scientific materials. Rural area teachers have problems in finding accommodations. All these naturally have repercussions in the schools' general work atmosphere. In general, however, teachers' attitudes are positive. Usually, they accept the decisions and procedures of Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] and approach their work cheerfully.

[Question] Let's switch the topic to ZBoWiD and youth. Your veteran organization has for years had its place in the above-mentioned front of socialist upbringing. Many of the ZBoWiD's members and many of the Union's echelons are deeply engaged in their cooperation with youth, particularly with school and scouting youth. The question arises, however, what are the practical outcomes of these activities? What is the influence of ZBoWiD's activities on the patriotic and civic upbringing of youth? I suspect, this influence is not too strong. Veterans' meetings with youth in schools, and veterans' lectures received particularly critical appraisal.

[Answer] I maintain that such influence does exist. It is hard to evaluate to what degree: large or small, but it does. When one of my colleagues, a member of ZBoWiD, asked me the same question I answered that, in order to evaluate such a school meeting, one has to participate in it and experience the situation. Then, in the specific situation, one is able to judge. I myself have often taken part in ceremonious school meetings with the veterans. Please, believe me, in such instances youth experiences emotional engagement, shaping of attitudes and respect of the deep values conveyed by the former member of the

struggle for freedom of Motherland. Regardless of whether the veteran's performance is better or worse, of whether his speech is coherent, or not, youth live through it emotionally. I can quote many examples that illustrate my contention. These things happen both at solemn meetings that feature school and ZBoWiD's banners, and at class meetings during a history lesson. Sometimes, while the teacher conducts the lesson, it is sufficient that, for instance, a former-participant of the battle at Lenino, which is one of our programmed topics, is present in the classroom and supplements the teacher's statements with a personal recollection of particular events. Won't such a lesson be well remembered by the pupils? Most certainly it will. I am stating that based on many of my own experiences.

[Question] Some SBoWiD members, SBoWiD circles, and committees of cooperation with youth complain, particularly of late, that the schools don't want their cooperation, and that they don't place enough importance in this cooperation. Has your Education and Upbringing Committee taken any steps to correct that situation?

[Answer] Naturally! Written ordinances have been issued to schools to widen their doors for the ZBoWiD members. Realization of these ordinances in practice, in my opinion, depends primarily on the school principals. Nowadays, ZBoWiD members are people of mature age and won't impose themselves on the schools. The worst situation happens, however, when they come without asking and are rejected by the school. This causes a lot of bitterness. I have expressed this more than once in my letters to superintendents' offices, and I think that it is the school that should initiate meetings with the veterans. The veteran must feel that the school needs him. Believe me, it is so in most cases. Although now and then there occur conflict situations, the veterans are being cordially received in most schools. One cannot speak of frequent drastic occurrences of lack of respect for the ZBoWiD members. I stress it once again, on the central level we are doing all we can to ensure successful cooperation.

[Question] Comrade minister, you are the chairman of the Main Board of ZBoWiD's Committee on Cooperation with Youth. What is the function your committee performs in relationship, for instance, to the committees that exist at the ZBoWiD Voivodship Boards?

[Answer] We have been conducting our work systematically. We meet with the chairman of Voivodship Youth Committees at least once a year. Is this often enough? Sufficiently often! Our area chapters receive the minutes of every meeting. We also send them our annual work plans. In this way, we inspire our active members in the voivodship and inform them about the central topics and problems in the area of cooperation with youth. We keep in close touch with them through correspondence and through direct personal visits of Main Board members to the Voivodship Boards. During my own visits at a superintendent's office, I myself always try to meet with the active ZBoWiD members who work with youth. They often happen to be teachers and educators who are still active in their profession, or who have retired but are working as volunteers in ZBoWiD.

[Question] Comrade General, do you think that this stream of ZBoWiD's activity has been sufficiently appreciated by the Union?

[Answer] In principle, our work belongs to the elementary and high schools. We have neglected the academic community which we do not reach. The several appeals I made at the meetings of the Presidium of ZBoWiD's Main Board to undertake our meeting activities and bring about a meeting between the leaders of the Union and the prorectors of higher institutions of learning, for instance in Warsaw--all remain without a response. [These appeals] ended in promises by my colleagues at the Presidium. I maintain that the Union top leadership is occupied by that matter in too leisurely a manner. Our Main Board lacks sustained interest in the problems of working with youth. Yet, this matter is properly exposed in the Union's statute as one of the main duties of ZBoWiD's external activities. The importance of this problem has increased considerably, particularly in the light of the August 1980 events. It took on tremendous political meaning. Personally, I think that these facts have not been sufficiently perceived by ZBoWiD government and the interest in these problems is too small. It is an indisputable matter that, at the present, our forces ought to be directed toward these problems. We ought to initiate activities which will enable us to gain youth for the idea of socialism. This is also a monumental task for our Union.

We, the activists of Main Board Committee, fully perceive the importance of these problems. We are raising a series of key problems. The realization of these problems depends solely not on us but also on the Main Board. We and the colleagues of the Main Board [ZG] hold somewhat different opinions in some of the matters. However, as the "Chinese proverb" goes: whenever two people hold the same opinion, only one of them is wise.

[Question] What sort of advice would Comrade Minister give to the ZBoWiD's speakers participating in meetings with youth? The level and effects of Union's activity in this area both depend on those, don't they?

[Answer] In progress is the discussion whether the speaker ought to be a scholar of history and a person properly prepared and educated. All these traits are important, but, in my opinion, most important is the ability to convey one's own experiences. The knowledge has been written down in manuals. It is taught by the teachers. Yet, nothing and nobody can replace the memories of the one who participated in historical events first-hand. This is what youth thirsts for and what they demand. This is what finds its permanent place in their hearts. Naturally, it is good if such a participant knows how to talk about these matters coherently and how to outline the background, and historical conditions. However, sometimes it is enough that he says just a few words, and youth will themselves reach for the book, text, or related literature in order to get to know the facts. I would advise my teacher-colleagues to set out to the schools for classes without inferiority complexes. They will have fulfilled their role if, through their posture, they succeed in awakening respect for the generation of the years of struggle; if they interest youth in their lives of a Polish soldier.

[Question] Thank you for our conversation.

ROMANIA

DECREE AMENDING RULES ON PRODUCTION INCENTIVES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 48, 20 May 82 p 2

[Decree of the Council of State on Amending and Supplementing Law No 57/1974 on Remuneration According to the Quantity and Quality of Work and Decree No 145/1979 on Profit-Based Stimulation of Production for Export, and on Granting the Fund for Working People's Participation in Realization of Production, Profits and Distribution of Profits for the Year 1981]

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Article I. Law No 57/1974 on remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work shall be amended and supplemented as follows:

1. After Article 65 Article 65¹ shall be introduced, with the following content:

"Article 65¹. (1) The sums which are granted individually to the work force as participation in the realization of production, of profits and in the distribution of profits, the extra incentives for participation in the realization of the production for export, the bonuses during the course of the year for outstanding achievements or other categories of bonuses and incentives may not exceed, as a whole, for the activity conducted during the course of a year, three basic monthly wages.

(2) Under the maximum ceiling specified in Paragraph 1, the individual sums which may be granted to the managerial staff from the fund for working people's participation in the realization of production, of profits and in distribution of profits and from the fund for extra incentives for realization of the production for export shall be determined in proportion to the average sums granted, from each of these funds, to workers and the other operatives in the units involved. For each of these categories of workers, the proportion shall be determined in light of the basic pay, the seniority increase and the management allowance, as the case may be.

(3) In the event that, according to rules in effect, special ceilings are determined for some categories of bonuses or incentives, these shall be applied in the context of the maximum ceiling specified in Paragraph 1."

2. Article 50 Paragraph (3) shall have the following content:

"(3) The sums due individually as participation in the realization of production, of profits and in distribution of profits shall be determined by the council of working people, under the conditions specified by law."

3. Article 132 Paragraph (2) is cancelled.

4. The designations "working people's participation in profits" from the contents of the law and from any other regulatory acts shall be replaced, as the case may be, by the designations "participation of working people in the realization of production, of profits and in the distribution of profits" and "the fund for working people's participation in realization of production, of profits and in distribution of profits."

Article II. Article 7 Paragraph 2 of Decree No 145/1979 on profit-based stimulation of production for export is amended and shall have the following content:

"The sums due individually for extra incentives shall be determined by the councils of working people in light of the input provided into the realization of the products for export. These sums shall be added to those due to the work force from the fund for working people's participation in the realization of production, of profits and in the distribution of profits."

Article III. For the year 1981 the fund for working people's participation in the realization of production, of profits and in the distribution of profits and the fund for extra incentives for the realization of the production for export, for the various ministries, the other central organs and the executive committees of people's councils of counties and of Bucharest Municipality and for the various centrals, shall be approved in accordance with the appendix* to this decree.

Bucharest, 19 May 1982.
No 200.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic
of Romania

* The appendix shall be forwarded to the parties concerned.

11710
CSO: 2700

FAILURE OF PRICE CONTROLS, COMPACTS ANALYZED

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 348, 22 May 82 pp 12-13, 77

[Article by Drago Buvac]

[Text] Price controls are one of the key aspects of the Yugoslav economic system. Politico-bureaucratic statism for years has promised more economic rationality, but has not succeeded in achieving it. Agreements on prices end up largely as compromises and preservation of the status quo, by which we simply postpone solution of economic difficulties.

There are few who doubt that the "magic 15 percent" planned inflation for this year has already been ingloriously accompanied off-stage in the first quarter like an unsuccessful magician's trick, leaving our economic and daily consumer scene. In only 3 months, retail prices have used up 37 percent, and living costs 43 percent of the quotas anticipated for all of 1982. Besides that, astute observers warn that new pressures for price increases are just ahead.

For the paradox to be complete, one should recall that inflation is not in the least to blame for effecting the planned limits, as an elemental notorious free market phenomenon, for there wasn't any. The entire inflationary dance of price was performed here under the direction of absolutely maximized prices and under the director's baton of administrative market control. When things are that way, the alternative has to be whether it would be better to let market laws by their "iron logic" unravel the Yugoslav state-engendered inflationary nightmare.

It would be false to sow propagandistic illusions that the market will all at once destroy inflation without sacrifices. Even though the administrative system of price control does not attribute any influence to them, most of our well-known professional economists warned before the end of last year that the anticipated 15 percent inflation rate for 1982 was unrealistic. Roughly, they asserted that the record 46 percent inflation in 1981 should gradually decline by 10-15 percent per year. If we were to carry out that complex operation by infusions of corrections of disrupted price relationships and by liberating market laws to function, then in 3-4 years we would have an inflation rate like that in many developed Western countries, but we would have a healthy economy as well. Prices can in fact be kept low by administrative

measures for a time, below those suggested by economists who are versed in market functioning. In a few years, however, the statist barriers would fall, leaving behind deformations of economic and social relationships.

It cannot be said that the scholarly and orator's fervor of the professional economists has had a significant influence in contributing to the free operation of market laws. The administration continues to use methods for forming prices that are covered by the Law on Bases for the Price System and Social Price Control and on Self-Management Negotiations and Agreements. On its own, that Law has been subjected to devastating criticism, particularly in the Federal Economic Council, and there are serious scholarly doubts about the effectiveness of self-management negotiations and agreements where setting prices is concerned.

Writing of unusual caprices of the fetish character of goods when human heads distort things, Karl Marx recalled in an intellectual manner Shakespeare's good man Dogberry, who taught the night guard: "To look good as a man is a gift of the circumstances, but knowing how to read and write comes from nature." In our current polemics about prices, things apparently are revolving around in heads according to the same system. Those who support administrative price controls come out as protectors of the standard of living of the working people and of self-management (negotiations and agreements on prices), while over the loudspeakers of market laws hangs a stain of preferential treatment for the living standard of the poorest and an exaggerated fear of the dangerous market element.

The dispute about how to rein in inflation surpasses the limits of polemics about methods and economic technique, and penetrates the domain of social and political relationships. When we keep in mind that prices are one of the most important elements in determining income in organizations of associated labor, then he who determines them at the same time possesses mighty social power. It is understandable that no one wants power determined in this way, and so prices, and everything that affects them, are one of the central questions of the coming development of our self-management system.

Thus it would be worthwhile to support the burden of administrative price controls, if they were temporary and productive. They are also used by the capitalist economies of developed countries that continue to extoll the ideology of a pure, free market. In those countries, price controls have seemed productive only for short times, as a defense of the system from unexpected shocks, such as, for example, the oil crises of 1973, 1974 and 1979/1980. After that they return as quickly as possible to freer market laws, because only they can resolve longer-term disturbances.

Incidentally, the case of the oil crises was instructive. Regulation of oil prices over the long term cost the most developed Western countries, such as the United States of America, which is rich in oil, very dearly. Meanwhile, low prices on their side, led to such extravagant oil consumption that world reserves would have very quickly been exhausted. With much higher prices and more free functioning of the market, even in such a significant, strategic energy sector, savings of "liquid gold" began. Oil consumption per unit of GNP in the most developed Western countries was rapidly cut back: face to face

with the energy crisis, the world applied itself to discovering alternative sources. At the same time, technological processes and products were sought that would use less oil and energy in general. Under market and competition pressures, an inevitable restructuring of economic sectors came, in the direction of less energy-intensive industrial branches, as the Japanese in particular stressed. In places where such undeniable market principles did not function, such as in Yugoslavia, the energy savings were less. They had to turn off the power and "live in the dark," while statist political forces were still developing "oil-intensive" industrial sectors precisely at the time when the rest of the world was turning away from them. Without market, economically determined prices, everything can be proved, investment criteria are clouded, and the bill for failures must be borne by the society as a whole; in the extreme it comes as a new addition to prices and further inflationary pressure.

Price controls are applied in developed Western countries when wage spirals begin. Previous experience has shown that after such an "earnings policy," a new leap in prices has always resulted, and the longer wage control lasted, the worse the price inflation. From Yugoslav experience we also know that price control has stimulated ever greater inflationary waves. The record inflation of recent years has come in an atmosphere of regulative administrative price fixing.

Is the only effective medicine the complete "freezing" of prices? It is used mainly in the Eastern European socialist economies, but they too are forced to correct deformities in the price structure from time to time. Yet stubborn insistence on such "stable prices" has not reaped results on the scale of economic effectiveness that would serve as an example to others. When the accelerated economic growth of those countries was exhausted, administratively controlled prices revealed their true nature. Constantly depressed prices for agricultural products from the fertile Ukrainian plains reaped low income and disinterest among the peasants (except for their own household), while the industrially developed Soviet Union has been trying for decades to solve the riddle of normal provisions for its population. There are lines at the stores for higher quality shoes, while outmoded shoes lie in stockpiles in warehouses. Why produce higher quality, more fashionable shoes when that increases production costs, and planning agencies do not allow higher prices to cover them. The Soviet reader has administratively determined cheap books and newspapers, but good books quickly disappear from the bookstores, while newspapers are only printed on four pages. A land with enormous wooded expanses and the most numerous scientists in the world has a constant paper shortage, because along with high consumption and low prices, its production technology is used inefficiently and masses of wood are wasted. Another example: because of low controlled prices, Soviet machinery uses as much as several times more iron and steel than used to make the same equipment in developed countries of the West. High growth rates of the Soviet economy and, incidentally, the very progressive ferrous metallurgical industry are wasted in this way on a low final result.

While the administrative planning system of determining prices becomes ever more irrational at higher levels of economic development, as is borne out by the slowing of economic growth in the Eastern European socialist countries, there are no reliable economic analyses that would make it possible to assert that they protect poorer levels of the population. Economics is a vengeful

thing: what it gives with one hand, it takes away with the other. If prices are low, then incomes are less. If some product is good and cheap, then one must wait in line for it, or at least get it at the lower price "through connections" that one with higher pay may have. In such a system, it is in his "class interest" to have low administratively controlled prices.

The housing policy in Yugoslavia is an express example of such "class interest" for administrative low prices "in the name of protecting the living standard of the working people." Certainly we cannot dispute that workers with lower incomes have thus received cheaper housing, but it is even less debatable that this housing policy has brought the greatest benefits to people with higher incomes, ranging from political and governmental officials to specialists and the better workers in enterprises. Inflation has simply undermined the real value of rents and credit payments, thereby halting the normal capital reproduction of the housing fund. In symbolically paying for their housing, people with higher incomes have been able to channel the surpluses they create in that manner into automobiles and housing appliances, and then into weekend cottages, thus contributing even more to enormous price increases and shortages of building materials, which returns like a boomerang to housing construction. Protecting in modest dimensions the living standard of the poorest (which could better have been achieved by social policy), uneconomic rents gain retribution by inflationary pressure on other sectors of the "liberated," additional purchasing power, and by artificially increased shortages of housing space.

Market laws are not socially innocent and neutral. By their impersonal and merciless coercion, they give the best rewards to the most capable enterprises and individuals, and spawn social differences. Previous economic experience has shown, nonetheless, that their elimination belongs to the "distant communist future." When they are discarded too soon, they inevitably return some circuitous route.

It hardly needs repeating that in the modern world, inflation is a very complicated phenomenon. To it are attributed the breakneck leaps in oil prices, the autarchic isolationism of national economies or the inadequate international division of labor. Nevertheless, its common denominator is the internal problems of each country. Even such developed economies as the USA and the EEC countries find inflation's chief cause in large government debts, which have grown enormously because of state intervention in the economy, and increasingly ossified networks of both needed and false social welfare programs.

Various models are offered for solving the problem of inflation in industrially developed countries. They vary from the monetarism of Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain and Reaganomics in the United States on the one hand, to the "Mitterand renaissance" in France, on the other. At the first pole we find restrictive policy and dedication to the ideology of "classical capitalism" to the benefit of entrepreneurs and the wealthy levels of society, while at the other extreme there are redistribution in favor of the poorest and the working levels of society, and nationalization of key economic sectors and banks. Yet there are points of contact between these opposite models. The first is in the fact that both recognize that economic stabilization is tied to redistribution in society.

With all the reservations that must be held concerning other "models" and the experiences of other systems, the universality of "human destiny" sends its own economic practices some useful lessons.

Rooting out inflation and creating an ambitious stabilization program in the Yugoslav economy trips on the snag of the endeavor to preserve the status quo. It is humanly, socially and politically understandable that no one wants voluntarily to yield what he has. The living standard falls gradually, but increasing nominal personal income stubbornly accompanies prices. General consumption in the broadest sense automatically feeds on nominal personal incomes. The state political "structure" obstinately protects its positions of deciding on expanded reproduction. Every economic branch or territorial-political unit strives to avoid losing anything from its present status.

The partial "pat-position" reflects most picturesquely in the price system. Free market formation of prices has been exchanged for self-management negotiations and agreements, behind which stand mainly administratively delegated rights to more or less linear price increases, of from 12 to 20 percent. Such agreements most often protect monopolistic positions, division and closing of markets, or indirectly, concealed price increases through various credit and convertible currency arrangements.

While on one side of the political podiums we proclaim the market nature of the self-management economy, in practice the market is gradually being deserted. All the while we lose sight of the true essence of market principles. They cannot be agreed to by calculating prices in the most frozen econometric models; rather, they form themselves autonomously. In that regard there is cause for the professional economists to take a critical attitude toward the existing system of social agreements and contracts on prices. Price agreements are concluded more or less by compromises and maintenance of the status quo, which does not resolve, but rather simply postpones the difficulties of the Yugoslav economy. Under the cloak of self-management negotiations on prices, statism finds its reason for being, and steps forward as the protector of economic groups and political-territorial communities. In supporting the status quo, it preserves precisely its own material and social positions. For it a free market is the infamous alternative that it fears the most, because a powerful "shakeup" of our economic structure and of the existing system of social distribution would throw it out as a superfluous appendage of self-management.

Thus the dilemmas of the price system turn out to be one of the key aspects of the Yugoslav economic system: Do we want to encamp in the statist administrative shells of stagnation and gradual legitimization of lines in front of shops "in the name of working class interests," or through market dynamics and its coercion will we change the economic structure and social distribution in favor of associated labor.

Political-bureaucratic statism has already promised for years to bring greater economic efficiency and, as its prerequisite, redistribution of the means of expanded reproduction to benefit the self-management economy. Since so far it has not succeeded in that, it should leave it to the market, as an inseparable attribute of self-management.

YUGOSLAVIA

FOREIGN DELEGATES AT 12TH LCY CONGRESS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 82 p 2

[List of foreign guests attending the 12th LCY Congress]

[Text] The 12th LCY Congress is being attended by 112 delegations of communists, socialists, Social Democratic and other progressive parties and movements from throughout the world.

Dobroslov Culafic, secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, in greeting the foreign guests, said that the meeting of Yugoslav communists was being attended by the following:

Algerian National Liberation Front Party, led by Boualem Baki, member of the central committee politbureau,

Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola--Labor Party, led by Alexandre Rodriguez (Quito), member of the central committee politbureau,

Communist Party of Argentina, represented by Julio Laborde, member of the central committee,

Australian Labor Party, represented by (Lesli) Johnson, member of the National Executive Committee,

Communist Party of Australia, represented by Mark Taft, member of the executive committee of the central committee,

Communist Party of Austria, represented by Ernst (Vimer), member of the central committee politbureau,

Socialist Party of Austria, represented by Walter Walter, secretary for international relations,

Pan-Africanist Congress of (Azania), represented by Joe (Mkvanazi), administrative secretary of the central committee,

Belgian Communist Party, represented by Jan (Debruvère), member of the politbureau and secretary of the central committee,

Belgian Socialist Party, represented by Marcel (Denekere), member of the bureau,

Socialist Party of Belgium, represented by Roger (Gaye), general secretary,

Brazilian Communist Party, represented by Regis Saviato Frati, member of the secretariat of the central committee,

Bulgarian Communist Party, led by Kiril Zarev, secretary of the central committee,

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, led by Karel Hofman, member of the presidium of the central committee,

Communist Party of Chile, represented by Orlando (Millas), member of the political commission of the central committee,

Radical Party of Chile, represented by Anselmo (Sule), first secretary,

Socialist Party of Chile, represented by Aniseto Rodriguez, general secretary,

Socialist Party of Chile, represented by (Ernam) del Canto, secretary for international relations,

Socialist Party of Chile, represented by Luis Herez, organizational secretary,

Communist Party of Denmark, represented by Ib Nerlund, member of the politbureau and secretary of the central committee,

Social Democratic Party of Denmark, represented by Inge Fisher Miller, second vice president,

Socialist People's Party of Denmark, represented by Eba Strange, vice president,

Dominican Communist Party, represented by Jose Cuello, member of the central committee politbureau,

General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, led by Adel (Zakum), secretary of the people's committee,

Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, led by Endale Tesema, member of the central committee,

Democratic Alliance of the Finnish People, represented by Peka Sarnio, member of the central executive body,

Communist Party of Finland, represented by Tuta Talgren, member of the central committee politbureau,

French Communist Party, led by Georges Marchais, general secretary,

Socialist Party of France, led by Paul (Kiles), member of the executive bureau and secretariat,

United Socialist Party of France, led by Victor Leduc, national secretary,

Communist Party of Greece (for the country), led by (Janis Banias), general secretary,

All-Greek Socialist Movement, led by Dimitris (Satirlis), member of the executive bureau of the central committee,

People's National Congress of Guyana, represented by Robert Herman Orlando Corbin, first vice president,

People's Progressive Party of Guyana, represented by Jeanette (Dzagan), member of the executive committee,

Democratic Party of Guinea, represented by Senainon Behanzin, secretary of the politbureau,

Labor Party of the Netherlands, represented by Max Van der Berg, president,

Communist Party of the Netherlands, represented by Sim van der Helm, member of the central committee politbureau,

Communist Party of India, represented by M. S. Krishnan, member of the central committee,

Communist Party of India (Marxist), represented by R. Umanat, member of the central committee,

Socialist Party of Arab Rebirth (Ba'ath) of Iraq, led by Muhammad al Habari, member of the leadership,

Communist Party of Italy, led by Enrico Berlinguer, general secretary,

Italian Socialist Party, led by Giuseppe Tamburano, member of the directorate,

Italian Socialist Democratic Party, led by Ruggiero Puleti, deputy general secretary,

Party of Proletarian Unity--for the Communism of Italy, represented by Lucio Magri, general secretary,

People's National Party of Jamaica, represented by Paul Miller, director of the international department,

Japanese Communist Party, led by Tetsuo Fuwa, secretary of the secretariat of the presidium of the central committee,

Socialist Party of Japan, represented by Tarao Takazawa, vice chairman of the executive council,

Socialist Party of Yemen, represented by (Hadi Ahmet Naser), member of the central committee,

African National Congress of South Africa, led by Alfred Nzo, general secretary,

Communist Party of China, led by Peng Chen, member of the central committee politbureau,

Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus, represented by Donis (Kristofinis), member of the central committee politbureau,

Socialist Party--EDEK--of Cyprus, represented by Vasos Lissarides, president,

Colombian Communist Party, represented by Jesus Villegas, member of the secretariat of the executive committee of the central committee,

Congolese Labor Party, led by (Serve Obiaka), member of the central committee,

Korean Labor Party, led by (Li Djong Ok), member of the presidium of the politbureau of the central committee,

Communist Party of Cuba, headed by Oswaldo Dorticos, member of the central committee politbureau,

Communist Party of Lebanon, represented by Nedem Abdel Samad, member of the politbureau and secretary of the central committee,

Democratic Committee for Support of the Charter of the Malgache Socialist Revolution, represented by Arsene Ratsifera, deputy general secretary,

National Front for Defense of the Malgache Revolution and the Vanguard of the Malgache Revolution, represented by George Thomas (Indrianyato), politbureau member,

Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, led by Miklos Overi, member of the politbureau and secretary of the central committee,

Labor Party of Malta, represented by Miriam (Spiteri) de Bono, member of the executive committee,

Socialist Union of Popular Forces of Morocco, represented by Abderahman Jusufi, politbureau member,

Institutional Revolutionary Party of Mexico, represented by Jorge Alberto Losoga, undersecretary for international relations,

People's Socialist Party of Mexico, represented by Santiago Avalos Savala, member of the central committee,

United Socialist Party of Mexico, represented by Marcos Leonel Posadas, member of the political commission of the central committee,

Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, led by Pavangiyn Damdin, secretary of the central committee,

Party of the Front for National Liberation of Mozambique, led by Jorge Rebelo, member of the politbureau and secretary of the central committee,

Organization of the Peoples of Southwest Africa--Namibia, led by Sam Nuyoma, president,

People's Front for Liberation of (Sakiet el Hamre) and Rio de Oro (Polisario), represented by Basir Mustafa Sayed, deputy general secretary,

Socialist Unity Party of Germany, led by Alfred Neumann, member of the politbureau of the central committee,

German Communist Party, represented by Jan Wienecke, member of the central committee presidium,

Social Democratic Party of Germany, led by Fredi (Gerharel), member of the leadership,

National Party of Nigeria, represented by (Alhadj) Abubakar (Bayoga), member of the national leadership,

Sandinista Front of the National Liberation of Nicaragua, represented by Dionisio Marenko, member of the Sandinista Assembly,

Norwegian Communist Party, represented by Arne Jergensen, vice president,

Socialist Leftwing Party of Norway, represented by Hilde Boyer, president,

Palestinian Liberation Organization, led by Abu (Hidzla) Abdu Latif, deputy chief of the political department,

Revolutionary Communist Party of Peru, represented by Manuel Damert, general secretary,

United Workers Party of Poland, led by (Kazhimyesh) Barczizowski, member of the politbureau and secretary of the central committee,

Communist Party of Portugal, led by Jose Arauso, member of the secretariat of the central committee,

Socialist Party of Portugal, represented by Raul Rego, member of the national and political commissions,

Romanian Communist Party, led by Emil Bobu, member of the permanent bureau of the political executive committee and secretary of the central committee,

Front of the National Liberation of Farabundo Marti--Democratic Revolutionary Front of Salvador, led by Jose Napoleon Rodriguez, member of the diplomatic-political commission,

Communist Party of San Marino, represented by Giuseppe Renzi, member of the directorate,

Socialist Party of San Marino, represented by Marino (Bronzetti), member of the directorate,

Movement for Liberation of Sao Tome Principe, led by Manuel Pinto de Costa, chairman of the movement and president of the republic,

Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by Vasiliy Kuznetsov, candidate member of the central committee politbureau,

People's Progressive Front of Seychelles, represented by Metyu Servina, deputy general secretary,

Communist Party of Syria, represented by Nebih Rusheidat, central committee member,

Socialist Party of Arab Rebirth (Ba'ath) of Syria, led by Suheil el Suheil, member of the national command,

Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, represented by Hashi Sheik Mussa, ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Somalia in Yugoslavia,

Sudan Socialist Union, represented by Yasim Omer Eyman, member of the central committee,

Communist Party of Spain, represented by Eleonor Bornao, member of the central committee,

Spanish Socialist Worker Party, led by Rafael Estralla, member of the leadership,

Communist Party of Sri Lanka, represented by Nikadve Ratnavira, member of the central committee politbureau,

Freedom Party of Sri Lanka, represented by Ratnasiri Vikremanayake, general secretary,

Party of Equality and Justice of Sri Lanka, represented by Bernard Soysa, general secretary,

Progressive Organizations of the Swiss Federation, represented by Thomas Heilman, member of the politbureau,

Swiss Labor Party, represented by Silvano Gilardoni, member of the central committee politbureau,

Social Democratic Party of Sweden, represented by Soren Tunel, member of the leadership,

Party of the Left of the Communists of Sweden, represented by Bror Angstrom, member of the executive committee of the central committee,

Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, led by Rachid Kavava, member of the central committee and chairman of the standing committee for party affairs,

Party for Rallying the People of Togo, represented by Adjoa Sika Tonson Tranu, member of the central committee,

Socialist Destours Party of Tunisia, represented by Rachid Sfar, member of the politbureau,

Communist Party of Uruguay, represented by Eduardo Vierra, member of the politbureau of the central committee,

Communist Party of Great Britain, represented by Paul Hudson, member of the executive committee,

Communist Party of Venezuela, represented by Hector Mujica, member of the politbureau of the central committee,

Party of Democratic Action of Venezuela, represented by Ruben Carpio Castillo, member of the section for international relations,

Movement Toward Socialism of Venezuela, represented by Victor Ugo de Paola, organizational secretary,

United Party of National Independence of Zambia, led by Humphrey Mulemba, general secretary,

Unified Socialist Party of West Berlin, represented by Magot Granovski, member of the politbureau of the central committee,

African Party of the Independence of Cape Verde, represented by Joachim Pedro Silva, member of the secretariat of the national council,

African National Union of Zimbabwe, led by Simon Muzenda, president,

Democratic Union of the Mali People, led by Mohammed Hamadi, member of the politbureau.

(The messages of the foreign guests to the 12th congress are being published by the newspaper KOMUNIST.)

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